Woodbridge N. Ferris

Late a Senator from Michigan

Memorial Addresses Delivered in Congress

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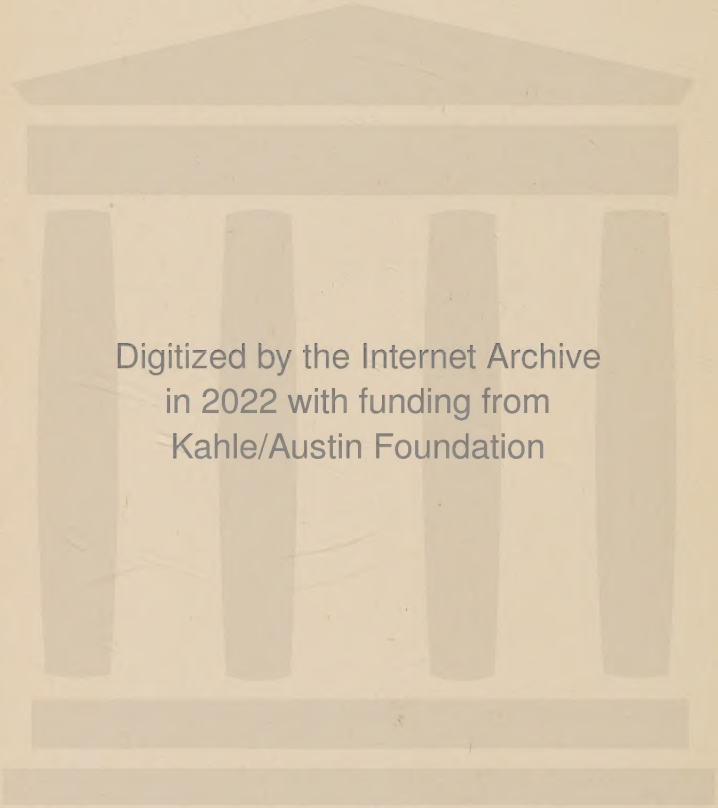
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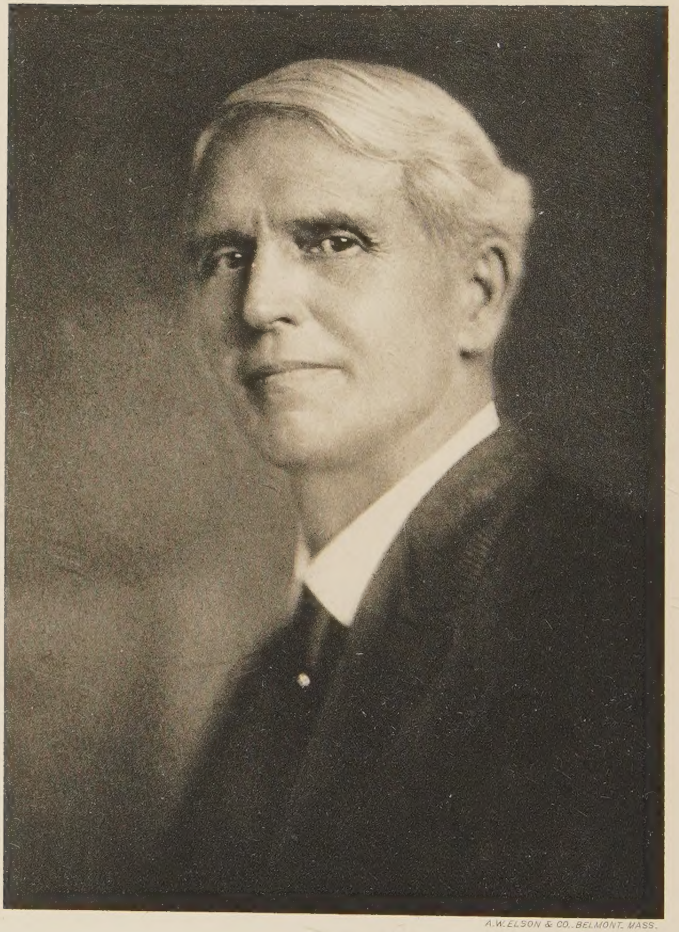

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70th Congress, 1st Session - - - Senate Document No. 100

Woodbridge N. Ferris

Memorial Addresses

DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN MEMORY OF

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS

Llate a Senator from Michigan

Seventieth Congress

May 6, 1928

UNITED STATES
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Biography

WOODBRIDGE NATHAN FERRIS was born in Spencer, Tioga County, N. Y., January 6, 1853; attended the academies of Spencer, Candor, and Owego, N. Y., the Oswego (N. Y.) Normal Training School 1870–1873, and the medical department of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1873 and 1874; principal of Spencer Academy in 1874 and 1875; principal of the Business College and Academy of Freeport, Ill., in 1875 and 1876, of Dixon (Ill.) Business College and Academy 1877–1879, and superintendent of schools in Pittsfield, Ill., 1879–1884; settled in Big Rapids, Mich., where he established the Ferris Industrial School (now the Ferris Institute) in 1884, and served as president until his death; president of the Big Rapids Savings Bank; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for election in 1892 to the Fifty-third Congress and for Governor of Michigan in 1904; Governor of Michigan 1913–1916; unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1920; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1922, and served from March 4, 1923, until his death in Washington, D. C., March 23, 1928; interment in Highland View Cemetery, Big Rapids, Mich.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Woodbridge N. Ferris

Proceedings in the United States Senate

FRIDAY, *March 23, 1928.*

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, it is with great sorrow and regret that I announce that my colleague, Senator FERRIS, of Michigan, expired at 6.15 this morning from an attack of bronchial pneumonia. I may say that he had the affection and regard of all Senators. He was modest, sincere, and earnest. At a future time I shall ask the Senate to set apart a day on which fitting tribute may be paid to his life, character, and public services.

I send to the desk resolutions, for which I ask immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read by the Chief Clerk.

The resolutions (S. Res. 180) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That a committee of ten Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The Vice President appointed as the committee under the second resolution the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Couzens], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Robinson], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Fess], the Senator from New York [Mr. Copeland], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Steiwer], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Dill], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Brookhart].

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, March 24, 1928, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SATURDAY, *March 24, 1928.*

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

How beautiful it is to be alive!
To wake each morn as if the Maker's grace
Did us afresh from nothingness derive,
That we might sing "How happy is our case!
How beautiful it is to be alive!"

To read in God's great Book, until we feel
Love for the love that gave it; then to kneel
Close unto Him whose truth our souls will shrive,
While every moment's joy doth more reveal
"How beautiful it is to be alive."

Not to forget when pain and grief draw nigh,
Into the ocean of time past to dive
For memories of God's mercies, or to try
To bear all sweetly, hoping still to cry
"How beautiful it is to be alive!"

Thus ever toward man's height of nobleness
Strive still some new progression to contrive;
Till, just as any other friend's, we press
Death's hand; and, having died, feel none the less
"How beautiful it is to be alive."

Let us pray. O merciful God and Heavenly Father, who hast taught us in Thy holy word that Thou dost not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men, look with pity, we humbly beseech Thee, upon the sorrows of the family and loved ones of Thy faithful servant whom Thou hast called upon Thyself. Gently Thou didst press the tired lids to rest, for so Thou givest Thy beloved sleep. Vouchsafe to him, O Lord, light and rest, peace and refreshment, joy and consolation in the paradise of God; and may the benediction of his noble character rest upon us all, that having served Thee with constancy on earth we may be joined hereafter with Thy blessed saints in glory everlasting. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

WEDNESDAY, *April 11, 1928.*

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, and, after it shall have been read, I ask unanimous consent that it may be considered and agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 195), as follows:

> *Resolved,* That Sunday, May 6, at 3 o'clock p. m., be set aside for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to.

SUNDAY, *May 6, 1928.*

The Senate met at 3 o'clock p. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Z^e Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

> When the anxious hearts say, "Where?"
> God doth answer, "In My care."
> Were they frightened at the last?
> No; the fear of death was past.
> Do they need our tenderness?
> "Where is love like Mine to bless?"
> Father, tell us, where are they?
> "In My keeping, night and day."
>
> *Now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them that slept.*
>
> *For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.*

* * * * *

Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,

In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality,

So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.

O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law.

But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord.

O Almighty God, who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Thy Son, Christ our Lord: Grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, evermore. Amen.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 227) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to his memory the Senate, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand in recess.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Memorial Addresses

on

Woodbridge N. Ferris

Memorial Addresses

Address by Senator Couzens

Of Michigan

Mr. PRESIDENT: It seems appropriate when we gather together to-day to pay honor to my late colleague WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, of Michigan, to read into the Record the biographical sketch which the Senator himself put into the Congressional Directory:

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, Democrat, of Big Rapids, was born in Spencer, Tioga County, N. Y., January 6, 1853, the son of John, jr., and Estella (Reed); early education acquired in the academies of Spencer, Candor, and Owego, N. Y.; later attended the Oswego (N. Y.) Normal and Training School, 1870–1873; was a student in the medical department, University of Michigan, 1873–74; principal of Spencer Academy (N. Y.) 1874–75; principal of Business College and Academy, Freeport, Ill., 1875–76; professor in Rock River University, Dixon, Ill., 1876–77; principal Dixon Business College and Academy, 1877–1879; superintendent of schools, Pittsfield, Ill., 1879–1884; in 1884 founded the Ferris Institute, Big Rapids, and has since been president of that institution; president of Big Rapids Savings Bank; Democratic candidate for Congress, 1892, but defeated; candidate for governor, 1904; elected Governor of Michigan for terms 1913–14 and 1915–16; married Helen F. Gillespie, of Fulton, N. Y., 1875; to this union three sons were born; Mrs. Ferris passed away March 23, 1917; married Mary Ethel McCloud, of Indianapolis, Ind., August 14, 1921; received the degree of master of pedagogy from the Michigan State Normal College and the degree of doctor of laws from Olivet College, the University of Michigan, and the University of Notre Dame; was elected to the United States Senate for the

term beginning March 4, 1923, receiving 294,932 votes, as against 281,843 for his Republican opponent, the Hon. Charles E. Townsend.

While this is a sad occasion it is yet a beautiful custom the Senate observes in coming together to pay tribute to one of our former colleagues whose services on this earth have been ended. I am thankful for this opportunity to say just a few words concerning my former colleague and friend.

On March 7 of this year, when Senator FERRIS announced he would not be a candidate for election, he said in part:

> I feel it is time I had a vacation and really took time to live. I want it distinctly understood that I do not decline to run because of any fear of the result. It is only in great emergencies that a Democrat can be elected in Michigan, but even if I felt sure of being defeated, that would not deter me from running if I thought I owed that duty to those who have supported me.

To a great extent this short statement reveals the character that the people of Michigan love so well. Not until he had reached the age of 75 did his thoughts turn to a vacation. Throughout most of his 75 years he labored in the service of his fellow men, and that he labored well and successfully will be shown by speakers to follow me which in itself demonstrates the honor that we desire to pay him.

There was spontaneous expression of sorrow and regret from everywhere the moment it was announced that he had passed on.

The statement that I just quoted expresses the courage he showed on all occasions. We all knew that he was not afraid to run, not afraid to be

defeated. He was willing to make the race again even in the face of insurmountable difficulties had he not felt that after 75 years he should turn the task over to others.

While Senator FERRIS was a representative of a minority political party in Michigan, he knew that its representatives could only be elected in the time of great emergency. Yet he did not fear to face the great majority. He had the courage to fight on as one of the minority, and after all there is no greater evidence of sublime courage than the willingness to accept and to continue to accept the burdens of the minority and to voice their desires.

This is a sublime evidence of his loyalty to his friends and supporters and which continued until the ripe age of 75. He was still willing to be their standard bearer.

As boy and as man, as son and as father, as citizen and as public servant, as pupil and as teacher, as the chief executive of his State and as the ambassador from his State to the United States Senate, the life of Senator FERRIS ran its true course unto the end.

Despite the greatness of the official tributes paid him in his election as governor and as Senator, I think perhaps the greatest mark of appreciation of his worth is shown in the unofficial title by which his people knew him, the title "The Good Gray Governor." Probably that simple phrase tells a better story than anything that can be said here.

It requires a man of the finer qualities to meet the test that Senator FERRIS met and endured and

to emerge from that test with the highest regard of the people of his State, with the greatest devotion from the people of his State, and with the fondest affection of the people of his State.

This was the man my State knew. This was the man I knew in Michigan and the man I knew in Washington. This was the man to whom we pay tribute to-day. We can but hope that when our records are written forever we shall deserve a place beside him in the annals of time.

Address by Senator Glass

Of Virginia

Mr. PRESIDENT: While in time of grief and lament words always seem unavailing, I could well wish that for this memorial occasion I had the facility of speech which is so essential when one would pay a fitting tribute to a worthy man who has departed this life. Then I might adequately express the genuineness of my own distress at the death of WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, and for the record appropriately appraise the loss which the Senate and the country have sustained.

There can be no mistake concerning the esteem in which the people of his adopted State held Mr. FERRIS. In social pursuits as in his business activities, as teacher and banker, as citizen and friend, in every walk of life, he was respected and trusted by all who came within the range of his acquaintance or who were aware of his fine reputation. Twice he was elected to the highest executive office within the gift of the people of Michigan, notwithstanding the fact that in political faith he was an adversary of the overwhelming majority of the electorate. This phenomenon rarely occurs in public life, and then only when the man selected for so signal an honor is universally regarded as honest to the core, with courage and common sense comparable to his integrity. And when six years ago Michigan reacted to a period of political disturbance which was thought to involve the good

name of the State the people, without regard to previous divisions, turned with confidence and affection to Woodbridge N. Ferris to represent the sovereignty of the Commonwealth in the Senate of the United States.

How well and with what discernment he performed his service here all of us fully understand. With an exceptionally clear comprehension of national problems, he applied to their solution an amount of good sense and a degree of liberal thinking which constituted an effective complement to his firmness of conviction, his steadfastness and poise on all occasions. He was dependable; there was never a question of his complete sincerity or his fidelity to his conception of duty. Reserved in manner, but with great warmth of feeling; quiet for most of the time, but outspoken when circumstances seemed to require, his counsel was sought by his associates and his opinions were greatly respected in this forum. Personally beloved for his human traits and admired for his accomplishments, those of us who knew him best can readily appreciate and share the grief of those who shall miss him most.

Address by Senator Fess

Of Ohio

Mr. PRESIDENT: My acquaintance with WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS extended over more than 30 years. My first contact with him was when I was associated with him on the occasion of some educational conventions which were held in the State of Pennsylvania. I very keenly recall the strong and deep impression the educator made upon that great aggregation of men and women. In those days Pennsylvania observed the custom of the annual teachers' institute, which was the largest aggregation of men and women during the year in any of the county seats outside of the great cities. I met him first in the town of Greensburg, Westmoreland County. There were 12,000 teachers present and a large group of citizens, the audience being limited only by the capacity of the hall.

Mr. FERRIS made one of the most remarkable addresses on educational philosophy that I had heard up to that time, and produced a very profound impression. From that time on I followed him in his career educationally, being thrown in contact with him very often. Later, I met him in his home in the town of Big Rapids. I saw him in his daily activity, where his chief forte seemed to be, at the head of the famous institution which still bears his name.

Mr. FERRIS was a man who had the ability to see the needs of the day, to organize and to manage an

institution to meet those needs; and the institute that bears his name in his home town is the finest example I know of the consummation of an achievement of that sort. When I saw him standing upon the platform, looking into the faces of the young men and women that gathered by the thousand, and listened to his clarion voice as he spoke to those people on the meaning of life, I could understand something of the tremendous hold that he had upon the young life of Michigan and other States.

His work as an educator in that institution is outstanding. I understand that there are Representatives in numbers in the Chamber now that are the products of that famous institution. I speak with some personal knowledge, for I have visited Mr. FERRIS in his home and at his work more than once.

If you knew the character of the man and could estimate the limitless influence through the young life that had come and gone in the institute, it is easy to understand why he became so popular in the State.

To know Mr. FERRIS was to love him. There was no guile in his make-up. He hated sham. He was pitiless in his criticism of anything that was not genuine; and he built himself into the generation in which he lived until there is a Ferris attitude of mind through the young life all over the great State which he honored.

When he sought the governorship, a good many people thought he could not be elected in a Repub-

lican State like Michigan; but he was elected, and passed from the office of executive of a great educational institution to the office of executive of a great State. Then he found his problem. It was under the administration of Mr. FERRIS that the unfortunate labor and capital outbreak in the iron country took place. I was a Member of the other House of Congress at the time. A serious situation developed. A resolution was introduced in the other House to make an investigation. The governor of the State wrote to his old friend and said:

> If we can only keep down socialism, and if we can only curb the demagogue, the Governor of the State of Michigan will be able to settle this problem.

Then, as now, and probably as it always will be, there was an agitation that tended to interfere with orderly processes; but the manner in which that great problem was handled was the manner of FERRIS, and the achievement that was made was his under circumstances of great emergency; and what was done reflected great honor to the State of Michigan under the leadership of this man. There is not any question, then, that when he announced himself as a candidate for the Senate, the people of the State, believing in him, sent him to this body.

Mr. President, the Senate never knew Mr. FERRIS. As a personal friend of his for 30 years, knowing his remarkable ability, often having been stirred by his clarion voice, I have sat here and wished that the opportunity would offer when FERRIS of the days when I knew him would be heard in this

Chamber. But he chose rather the silent course. He did his work in the committee rooms and in his counsel. Very rarely did we hear the voice that was so militant and so effective as I had heard it many, many times in the years gone by.

It is a difficult thing for one who wants to speak on an intimate friend to say just the right thing. Measured by every standard of real Americanism, he is one of the finest flowers of American democracy. Taken from every standard from which you wish to view him, whether a boy without opportunity in the beginning reaching a high plane of achievement, whether measured by the standard of success in business, he was a really great success, not only as an educator but as a business man; measured by the love of those who knew him, he was successful in the greatest degree. Measured from the standpoint of true manhood, from every standpoint, Mr. FERRIS was one of the finest examples of what a man ought to be of my entire acquaintance.

Words are inadequate when we want to express our appreciation of our departed colleague. "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die" is certainly true of this man if it be true of anyone.

Address by Senator George

Of Georgia

Mr. PRESIDENT: I would not attempt to give the biography of Senator FERRIS; nor would I attempt to speak of his elevation to the office of chief executive of his adopted State, though it was while chief executive of Michigan that Senator FERRIS attracted national attention, especially in his handling of a great industrial question that arose during his administration. His campaign for the Senate likewise attracted national attention; and his election to the Senate marked him as a man of unusual parts, coming, as he did, from the State of his adoption, and being, as he was, a member of the minority party within that State.

I knew Senator FERRIS first in the Senate, and I learned here to appreciate somewhat his habits of thought and of action. He was faithful in attending committees; and in one of the earliest public utterances he made after coming to the Senate, speaking upon a farm measure, he expressed very great confidence in the work of the committee, and made the statement—true of him to the end of his life—that he had attended all of the hearings, and had listened with patience to all of the facts developed at the hearings.

He did not speak often in this body. He spoke once upon the subject of agriculture, briefly, to which I have just referred. He spoke again when

the Senate had under consideration the adherence of the United States to the World Court. He spoke also, and at some length, upon the question that had agitated the country, and still agitates it, the great moral question of prohibition. I well recall that Senator FERRIS began that address by reference to his life as a boy in the State of New York, more than 60 years before, as he expressed it; and then, when he stated his own convictions upon the great question so often the center of controversy, he was at pains to say that his convictions were not the result of any Sunday school emotions. That, I think, was a key to his character.

Senator FERRIS was a man of the most exacting sense of justice. He was quite as rigid with himself as with others; in fact, more so. He fully appreciated his own limitations. He took full account of his own faults, whatever those faults were.

I have said that his chief attribute and characteristic, as it impressed itself upon me, was his sense of justice, his exacting sense of justice. It will be recalled that during his term he cast his vote on two matters well calculated to test the courage and the conviction of any Senator. On one occasion he was called upon to express his views with reference to a high Cabinet officer. He did so without hesitation. When another distinguished gentleman of his State was named to a high office in the Government, he took occasion to state briefly that he knew the appointee as a man, that he knew him well as a man, and that as men know men he entertained great admiration

for him; but that in view of the facts brought to the attention of the Senate, he felt it to be his duty, both to the State of Michigan and to the United States, to vote against confirmation.

Senator FERRIS was actuated by a sense of duty that sprang from his love of justice. He did not think of justice in the ordinary sense which occurs to us when the word is used, but he thought of justice as absolute fidelity to his own facilities, enlightened by the lessons of history and his life's experience, and absolute trust in their conclusions and convictions. That, I think, he esteemed to be his duty to himself, unfaltering obedience to his convictions and conclusions, I think, he esteemed to be his duty to his fellow man.

He did not think of justice in the personal sense only, though he carried his concept of justice into all the relations of life. His sense of justice controlled him in his personal relations, even his most intimate personal relations, but in public affairs he thought of justice in the sense indicated in the preamble to the Constitution, where the establishment of justice is mentioned as being among the purposes of our Government. I think he thought of justice somewhat in the same sense that Edmund Burke spoke of it, as being the "standing policy of all civilized States."

In his brief address upon agriculture, Senator FERRIS referred to his experience and his confidence in the experience of others, and his reliance upon the opinion of others who had special opportunities to investigate the subject, and to furnish

to those in public life information upon which they could confidently rely.

In his discussion of the World Court in this body he referred to his faith in the lessons of history, and one would infer that he based his faith upon the lessons of human history, because he took occasion to say that one could not be without faith in men who had watched the progress of man from the plane of primitive man to the plane of savagery and from the plane of savagery to the plane of barbarism and from the plane of barbarism to our present civilization.

He spoke of that distrust which not only dismembers the home and every unit of society but which likewise paralyzes national action. In a large sense he looked upon life as being so short, the responsibilities of life so great, and the powers of the individuals to meet life and its responsibilities so limited and circumscribed that one who did not know him well might think that he felt the futility of it all. Though he did not speak much in this body, he gave to every question coming before him careful and conscientious consideration, both in his seat in the body, in his chair in the committee room, and in his investigation as time afforded opportunity to study the problems with which he had to deal. In the study of all public questions he made his appeal to his own experience and the lessons of history.

Those of us who knew him intimately knew that while he had achieved marked success as we

measure success, even in financial affairs, particularly for one who had devoted his life to teaching, his real interest was in the institution of learning which he founded and over which he presided until his death.

The problems with which he had to deal while chief executive of his State and the problems before the Senate and the country did not impress him as being more important than the problem of human education. In the notable speech which he made in this body on the question of prohibition he took occasion to say that those who believed as he did upon that great question were remiss and were not free from severe criticism in failing to continue the program of education upon which he based his ultimate hope for the triumph of the cause which he held dear.

He was true to his exacting sense of duty until the last. In meeting the obligations upon him he did not hesitate to sacrifice his personal convenience and his personal strength. He remained in this body, as all his colleagues know, many days after he should have been at his home.

The last picture but one that I have of Senator FERRIS is the picture of a man more than threescore years and ten, with the snows of more than 75 winters whitening his brow, with his eyes looking into the not too distant shadowland, answering the anxious entreaties and advice of his colleagues here with the statement that his place was in the Senate. So he remained at his post until, through

sheer exhaustion, the ravages of the disease which shortly was to take him off made it absolutely necessary for him to go to his home.

As an educator, as a citizen of his local community and of his State, as a public servant, as a father, as a husband, as a man, he met every obligation. This Republic would be much enriched if all its sons should measure up to the standard furnished by our distinguished friend and colaborer in whose memory these ceremonies are held.

Address by Senator Sheppard

Of Texas

Mr. PRESIDENT: The approbation of God ought to be the culminating goal of every human being. To seek, to find, and to establish the will of God in mortal affairs, such is the course which merits divine approval. To follow that will means to restore, in the proportion in which the effort is made, God's Kingdom in the world.

In his last discourse Christ emphasized the fact that all who seek and carry out the Maker's will are one with God, one with Christ, and one with each other. He further taught that the dominion of the Creator may be restored upon this sphere by love and service; that love and service are within the powers and functions of every individual; that therefore the Kingdom of Heaven is always at hand, open to all who choose to enter.

I saw the new Jerusalem,
Its gates were open wide,
And all who would might enter,
And no one be denied.

The conclusion can not be avoided that the individual who qualifies others for love and service is an ideal messenger from God to humanity. Such a messenger was WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

As a foundation for that messengership he was from youth to death a sympathetic and hopeful student of human nature and the human mind.

He was aflame with the desire to convey to as many as he could reach, especially the young, the truth that every life has an essential and laudable part in the maintenance and advancement of civilization and to aid them in finding and performing that part.

He embodied that messengership in its most effective, secular form, the profession of teacher—a profession he began actively to follow at the age of 17 and which claimed him, with periods of absence during which he was Governor of Michigan and a Senator of the United States, until his demise nearly six decades afterwards. He awakened in his students the passion and the ability to serve. His love for humanity left its impress on their lives and made them agents of its magic power. Thus for nearly 60 years he was a true missionary of the Kingdom of God—a crusader for the Will Divine. The chief need of the world is for more personalities and more careers like his.

His childhood was divided between study in school and hard, incessant labor on the farm. In early youth he continued his collegiate preparation at intervals with funds he had earned while teaching. He knew what toil and struggle meant. Steadily he rose in the profession of teacher, founding two substantial private schools and piloting them to success. In 1884 he established at Big Rapids, Mich., the Ferris Institute, beginning with 15 students in two second-story rooms, witnessing its expansion within less than a generation into a group of commodious, modern buildings with an

annual enrollment of more than a thousand, an enrollment approaching 2,000 in recent years. His soul became the soul of that institution and will remain its soul as long as the principles for which he stood shall be preserved and proclaimed within its walls. Through a series of lectures and addresses and through numerous personal interviews he communicated to those who sought his tutelage his inspiring philosophy. To help each student to ascertain the work in life to which he was best adapted and to shape the student's mental training with that objective in view was the distinctive, practical feature of his system. He taught that all useful callings are praiseworthy, all necessary to society. He taught that in each life the capacity for some form of valuable service existed. He combined with these teachings an expression of interest, solicitude, and affection that gave every student a new and abiding sense of dignity and worth. His gospel was the gospel of love and work for all. The period which marks love and work for all will mark the return of God's kingdom to this globe, the accomplishment of His will on earth.

I found a golden key one day
  Upon the path I trod,
And it unlocked a golden door,
  A door that led to God.
And as I looked inside I saw
  These words upon the wall:
Your God is Love, and Love is God,
  There's love and work for all.

The affection of WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS for those whose education he supervised was returned in a most impressive degree. The dynamic power of human love is infinitely greater than that of any mechanical engine yet devised. After the Ferris Institute had been in operation a number of years the funds had been earned and set aside for the enlarged housing facilities its growth had made imperative. When the time for reconstruction arrived, the bank in which those funds were deposited became insolvent. The outlook was apparently hopeless. Within a short time, however, the former students of Ferris Institute advanced the needed amount from their personal savings. This action was a grander tribute to WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS than the governorship or the United States Senatorship, both of which came to him in subsequent years.

Turning to these political honors, it may properly be said that they represented triumphs as remarkable as have ever occurred in American history. The Democratic Party, of which he was a loyal and earnest member, was in the minority in his State. The dominant party there, the Republican Party, had a normal majority of several hundred thousand. He had taken nominations for Congress and governor, campaigning in the face of inevitable defeat with gallantry, determination, eloquence, and courage. He had spoken for the national tickets of his party, always attracting especial interest and commendation. He was one

of the main supporters of that party with voice and pen and financial contributions through the hopeless years, solely from devotion to its principles and with no prospect of political reward.

When he won as its nominee the positions of governor and United States Senator, his success was similar to that which had been his in other lines—the incident to duty done without regard to results. Emerson evidently had men like FERRIS in mind when he said, in effect, that many of the temporarily great go fretting and fuming into nameless graves, while a few unselfish souls forget themselves into immortality.

He soon occupied a position of commanding influence in the United States Senate. He spoke rarely, because speeches rarely affect the actions of this body. He delivered in the Senate on one occasion an argument of some length for prohibition which was one of the best presentations that cause has ever had. In Senate committees and in party councils his opinion was eagerly sought and universally respected.

During most of his active life he was one of the outstanding figures on the lecture platforms of this country. One of his addresses on how to make the world better was a summary of his views of life, and won instant favor with the public.

He planted the kingdom of God in the hearts of the thousands who gathered through more than four decades in the institution he created at Big Rapids. Through their contact with others and

with posterity, through the continued application of his doctrines in that institution, which is destined to expand indefinitely as the exponent of his moral power, his influence will live and grow as an inseparable part of the spiritual, intellectual, and material development of humankind. His work was the Master's work. His business was the Father's business. No mortal ever earned a sublimer epitaph.

Address of Senator Vandenberg

Of Michigan

Mr. PRESIDENT: From the first poignant hour when I humbly entered this high parliament to complete the interrupted term of the late United States Senator WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS I have felt a responsibility not only to the governor whose trust I bear; not only to the great Commonwealth of Michigan, in whose name I am commissioned; not only to the precious Republic, whose immortal Constitution I am sworn to support and defend; but also and particularly to the stewardship of a great memory in whose lengthened shadow I serve this interlude.

If it be the Nation's need that men of lofty purpose should direct its destiny, here was one who answered in maximum degree. He dreamed great rich dreams and then labored that these dreams should become reality.

If it be the Nation's need that men of clean hands and hearts should guard our heritage, here was one superlatively eligible. He counted a good name rather to be chosen than great riches. His integrity was as certain as time. His morality was as eternal as the hills. His dependability in these respects was the fabric of his very soul.

If it be the Nation's need that men of courage should stand in the trenches of unsurrendering ideals, here was one who was the perfect soldier.

He never compromised with principle. He gave relentless battle for his faith.

Mr. President, these are not the mere artificial platitudes of expedient eulogy. They are my indelible measure of the stalwart life which Michigan's late patriarchal Senator gave devotedly to American democracy—himself an exemplar of this democracy in terms of personality and philosophy which it is not inappropriate to describe as Lincolnesque. I speak not alone my personal apostrophe to a cherished friend. I speak also the sentiment of Michigan, a State which, despite formidable political odds that were an almost insurmountable barrier, twice chose him as its chief executive, affectionately called him "The Good Gray Governor," and then sent him as its ambassador to Washington. Such confidence is something more than accident. It is the tribute of a trusting people to a trustworthy life. It is the crown of faith bestowed by citizenship upon a leader who understood that public office is a public trust.

May I repeat, Mr. President, that there is incalculable responsibility—to be met in humility and prayer—resting upon the successor who is sent to serve for Michigan in the forum of this late Senator's unhappily interrupted tasks. May I confess that the burden even of attempting assessment of his great dedications is heavy beyond words. Already the solemn record of this memorial session of the Senate is freighted with eloquent and significant eulogy which might seem to leave no need for the testimony with which I close this hour. And yet the rôle he played in the humanities of

two epic generations still will not have been adequately portrayed—no matter who might be the orator—when the gavel falls upon our adjournment this afternoon.

You who were his colleagues in the Senate knew him largely in his political capacity and in the sunset of his useful years. He was a rugged Democrat—the greatest Democrat from Michigan since the days of Lewis Cass, who stands yonder in the Nation's hall of fame. I did not share the particular party allegiance which he chose to personify, but I did share his ideas of party loyalty and I shall hope always to share his ideals of probity and honor in political pursuits. In whatever degree this emulation becomes contagious the country will sustain a benediction in his name.

You, Senators, knew him largely in this political capacity, although these contacts inevitably disclosed the sterling character which this day's ceremony so heartily reveres. But our Michigan knew him in other estimates and other loves. We knew him as the tireless citizen whose life was jeweled with unassuming, unremitting devotion to duty and conscience and the common weal. We knew him as the neighbor who was welcomed at unnumbered hearthstones up and down the countryside. We knew him as an oracle with the gift of tongues, an oracle whose homely yet terribly earnest words have inspired uncounted auditors not only in our own great State but also throughout America.

We knew him, Mr. President, above all else as the inimitable schoolmaster whose passion was effectual education within reach of the common throng

and whose reward for a courageous lifetime in this great pursuit was the unswerving devotion of every student who passed the portals of the unique temple of learning which bears his name. He built this school on faith. Into it he poured his genius, his courage, his philosophy, his love of humankind. He pioneered in a new country. He persevered in a new and intellectual Samaritanism. His success was monumental and his monument is imperishable because it stands not alone in brick and mortar but in thousands of human lives that have been touched by the presence of his influence.

Michigan is justly famous for its educational sufficiencies. We have great colleges and universities, but no saga of Michigan's educational achievement will ever be complete without an incandescent chapter which recites that WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS here wrought his triumphant experiment.

He was simple and kindly. He was stern, yet merciful. He uplifted truth and crushed deception. He exalted the weak and humbled the strong. He lived for his ideals. He died upon an unsullied shield. He verified—as is given to few men—the philosophy of the poetess in these lines of living grace:

I know we are building our heaven
  Each day as we go on our way.
Each thought is a nail that is driven
  In mansions that can not decay;
And heaven at last shall be given
  To us as we build it to-day.

Mr. President, the Republic illy spares such souls. Human society is poorer when they cross the great divide. There is a sermon in such living. There is a challenge in such death. The Senate does well to memorialize such character and to keep itself in tune with such ideals. With my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Michigan, I bring this wreath of veneration and affection from a Commonwealth which joins us on its knees before an honored tomb.

And now, Mr. President, in the final moment of this ceremony I offer for the Record the late Senator's last legislative will and testament. I hold in my hand the completed manuscript of an undelivered speech which Senator FERRIS had expected to utter in this forum as his final admonition to his colleagues. It deals with the subject of public education. This is neither the time nor the place to analyze his views. Whether one agrees with their detail or whether one does not, one must respect their source and read attentively, because here was one in whom life and truth and education were inseverable synonyms.

UNDELIVERED ADDRESS BY THE LATE SENATOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS

Mr. President, it is taken for granted by everybody that education must occupy a prominent place in the affairs of a democracy. Notwithstanding this fact, I am not at all sure that the American people and even some of its lawmakers, fully realize the absolute necessity of universal education in a democracy.

I recognize the fact that tremendous progress has been made in our attempt to educate all of the people. I have had the good fortune to stand in the classroom as an instructor, not simply as a supervisor, for half a century. Little else than a revolution has taken place in the efforts of educators to plan and arrange courses of study that are in harmony with the needs of American children. Within the last 25 years great progress has been made in methods of teaching. However, no well-informed man could maintain for a moment that we have, as yet, arrived at a science of education. The science of education is in the making.

Everybody is familiar with the fact that vast sums of money are being expended in the construction and maintenance of educational plants. Notwithstanding these evidences of progress, the World War revealed a condition that was pathetic. Thousands and tens of thousands of our soldiers could not even read or write. We have not yet recovered from this shock. It would be unfair to charge this lamentable condition to the public schools. This condition simply proves conclusively that the American people have not yet awakened to an appreciation of the value of education.

When I use the term " education " I do not use it as an equivalent of schooling. The two terms " education " and " schooling " are not synonymous. A village or city or State may offer an immense amount of schooling; this

does not mean that the educational advantages are at all commensurate with the amount of schooling. In the minds of many the expression, "I have no education," means "I have no schooling." Abraham Lincoln did not have to exceed three months of schooling, but he was one of the best educated men that America has ever produced. Schooling at its best in the United States frequently has a tendency to make the acquisition of knowledge its chief objective. Such a view is paralyzing—is unsatisfactory. Education has to do with the enrichment of life, and the enrichment of life depends upon productive thinking. Prof. Henry F. Osborne says: "To think, to act, to create, these are our great impulses inherited from far prehistoric past; these are the three objectives in the intellectual education of American youth." The wonderful accomplishments of a Franklin, an Edison, a Burbank hinge not upon schooling but upon education.

Within the last 20 or 25 years our high schools have multiplied above the rate of increase in population. Likewise our colleges and universities have commanded the attention of thousands of American youth whereas prior to that time they commanded the attention of comparatively few. Dean Raymond Walters, of Swarthmore College, says in an article entitled "Getting Into College":

"The American secondary schools since 1900 have increased in enrollment nine times as fast as the population of the country. There are now some 12,000 public high schools offering 4-year courses, with 2,500,000 pupils, of whom nearly 400,000 are graduated each year. There are more than 2,100 private high schools and academies offering 4-year courses, with total enrollments of 225,000 and some 35,000 graduates yearly.

"These figures explain the source of the college expansion in the past quarter of a century—the increase from 104,000 liberal-arts students in 1900 to approximately 500,000 this year. They explain the improved average preparation of college applicants—and likewise the present stricter enforcement of college entrance requirements and selective procedure.

"As for the reasons which impel three students proportionally to go to college to-day for one in the days of their fathers, there is the proverbial mixture of motives. One likes to believe that there is at least a corresponding increase in those who go because they love learning."

At first glance this might seem to constitute further evidence of educational progress. Beyond a doubt it does indicate progress to some degree. Granting, however, that it means much, that it is conclusive evidence of great progress, there remains in this country the problem of educating the masses. In other words, the very life-blood of American democracy lies in the educational advantages which should be offered by the public schools.

The "hewers of wood" and "carriers of water" have never received a square deal. Millions and millions of dollars have been given to educational foundations; millions and millions of dollars have been given to colleges and universities, but very little effort has been made to take care of the great majority who can never hope to enroll in a high school. The real educational problem for America to solve is the problem of enabling the rural schools to provide a practical education through satisfactory courses of study, through adequate equipment, through the best methods of instruction, through the employment of well-trained teachers.

The correct thinking of a child is along lines precisely the same as is the correct thinking of a Newton or a Huxley. In the rural schools the fundamentals must be employed for developing in the child productive thinking. I concede that great progress has been made along certain lines in the rural schools. But, broadly speaking, one great problem in American education consists in revolutionizing our rural schools for a larger degree of efficiency. Objectors will point to the "little red schoolhouse" as the place where this great scientist, this great statesman, and that great inventor received his early training as if there were some magic in the "little red schoolhouse." The truth of the matter is Abraham Lincoln, like many other great men, made progress in spite of the "little red schoolhouse."

In lines of industry and agriculture and commerce we have discarded some of the old ways and adopted methods which are in harmony with present civilization. I am not going to worry the Senate with concrete illustrations of the special weaknesses of present rural education.

Another feature of education that has been neglected is adult education. Not infrequently, when I have had occasion to suggest education to an inquirer, he says, "I am too old." The notion widely prevails that education is for human beings from 5 to 21 years of age—that education is simply a preparation for life, whereas real education is life. Education, as I have defined it, begins with the first breath of life and ends with the last breath. When a human being ceases to do constructive thinking, ceases to find new and better ways of living, he is as dead as any corpse in a cemetery. In America our slogan ought to be "Education for all of the people all of the time." Notwithstanding the frequent failure of the schools to educate, I offer as a collateral slogan, "Schools for all of the people all of the time."

Adult education is not to be brought about by agencies of coercion or agencies of control. When the educational philosophy of America is as broad as I have outlined, there will be a demand for facilities whereby every man can secure the necessary advantages through his own ambition and efforts. True, in our larger cities provision has been made to conduct night schools whereby heads of families and members of families who are past the legal school age can secure training in the arts of civilization and in the fine art of making a living. There are skeptics who claim that adults care little or nothing for these advantages. For 43 years I have conducted a unique school. Not infrequently fathers and mothers and sons and daughters have attended the school at the same time. In order to do this they have been obliged to make real sacrifices. They have had to suppress their desire to own more acres of land, their desire to have larger savings account; they have done this in order to pay their carfare, the cost of living, and the cost of tuition at the

Ferris Institute. I mention this concrete example to show that when humans know that educational advantages are within their reach, they improve them. Adults in their eagerness to acquire an education and because of ruthless educational advertisers are robbed annually of more than $2,000,000. Dr. George B. Strayer, professor of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, has this to say:

"Hundreds of thousands of people, adults, in the United States have been exploited by private enterprises which have taken their money without an adequate appreciation of what the job of teaching them was."

This indicates that adult education is a problem, and at present the necessary information is not at the command of the thousands of adults who are hungry for the advantages of an education.

When these reforms are suggested, taxpayers emit extra howls about the cost. The truth of the matter is, the method for America to pursue, or any other country that wants to possess even material riches, is to furnish opportunities for real education. Very few patriotic citizens find fault with the cost of enlightenment. It should be remembered that in the last 25 years civilization has undergone a tremendous change. We have annihilated time and distance. The automobile, wireless, radio, movie, and the uses of electricity have revolutionized the old environment.

Our educational problem instead of being simplified has become more complex and difficult.

Thus far I have chiefly referred to problems of rural and adult education. This is only a beginning of an outline of educational needs. I am not going to discuss other problems in education. Many of them that I might discuss are recognized by educators and laymen alike. It is only natural that the great army of teachers should take the initiative with reference to discovering a means of solving some of the great educational problems that confront us. They are in daily touch with American youth.

It may be that they are not statesmen; it may be that they overestimate what the Federal Government should do and can do in the way of solving some of their problems.

PROPONENTS OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

I am going to quote from a few of the great men and women who appeared at the joint hearings of the Committee on Education during the Sixty-ninth Congress and give in part their arguments for a department of education. I make these quotations because these men and women have offered what seems to me to be convincing arguments for a department of education.

Dr. George D. Strayer, professor of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, said:

"It provides—and here is the real significance of the measure—that the department of education shall collect statistics and facts, and shall conduct researches and investigations, and that the results of the evidence so collected shall be made available to the people of the several States."

Dr. Charles H. Judd, director of the School of Education of the University of Chicago, said:

"I believe that if we had some central agency that could make us aware of our virtues and that could point out with perfect fairness and accuracy the results of some of our local experiments, that we could bring about exactly what we want, and certainly it would be a step in the direction of making our schools the best institutions."

Dr. S. P. Capen, chancellor of the University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y., said:

"It is also patent that these several divisions of the Government that deal with education have no relation whatsoever with one another and are, for the most part, each ignorant of the other's business. We want to see the enterprises brought together so that what the Government does in education will at least represent a unified point of view and a unified policy. I think that is the first thing we want."

Dr. John H. MacCracken, president of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., said:

"Education as we now have it in the United States is the chief occupation of more than a quarter of our population. There are 26,000,000 of our population in schools. There are over 800,000 teachers in the United States. We are spending over $2,000,000,000 a year on education. It is one of the leading industries, if not our leading industry."

Miss Selma Borchardt, legislative secretary of the American Federation of Teachers, said:

"One gentleman told me last summer that the reason he opposed a Federal department of education was because we have no national educational policy, and that therefore he would oppose the establishment of a Federal department. I asked him if we had a national agricultural policy. He said: 'Certainly we have; the wiping out of plant and animal diseases.' Well, it seems to me that the wiping out of illiteracy, the wiping out of lower educational standards, is as much a national policy as the wiping out of plant and animal diseases, because we think that our children are as deserving of attention as plants and animals."

Dr. Randall J. Condon, the superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, said:

"The thing I want to ask you men to do is this: To think of education as the finest and the biggest and the best thing in our national life and to complete the job by crowning it with a national dome that shall give us a leadership and a system of American education that shall comprehend the development of the lowest, simplest hamlet, village, town, State, and Nation—not to dominate but to lead; and we ask you as a step in that direction to give this bill a chance."

Dr. J. L. McBrien, director of rural education, State teachers college, Edmond, Okla., quoting from President Coates, of the Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, said:

"The trouble about this rural school problem is that the farmer and the average teacher look upon the country school as a little house on a little ground where a little teacher at a little salary for a little while teaches little children little things in a little way."

Doctor McBrien continues:

"That is severe, but the trouble with it is that it is so true. For example, take the great State of New York; in it there are 3,000 one-teacher schools with an average daily attendance of 10 or less; and I think there are 1,500 with an average daily attendance of 5 or less. I speak of New York just because it is a great State. I do not want to take you out into the wild and woolly West where we have not had the time to develop yet out of some things that are not so desirable."

B. M. N. Marrs, State superintendent of public instruction, Austin, Tex., said:

"We have a Secretary of Agriculture, and I believe in that department. It is promotional; but the Secretary of Agriculture has never attempted to standardize the method of raising cotton in the South; he has never undertaken to standardize the method of raising wheat in the West; but through that great department information has been disseminated in the agricultural sections, and the localities have been stimulated until the country is more prosperous on account of the workings of that department. And so I may say of Commerce and Labor. What is the department of the Government recognized by the world as standing for the cultural and the spiritual among our people? I submit this, gentlemen, as one thought that has not been developed by any other person that I have heard discuss this question."

John H. Cowles, grand commander of the Supreme Council Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, says:

"Finally, I have no fear of federalization, for the provisions of the bill give no more authority to the department of education than is given to the Departments of Agriculture or Commerce—in fact, not so much—and

so far there has been no charge of federalizing the crops, the stock, the mines, the roads, or any industry, while the helpfulness rendered is unquestionable."

Dr. Payson Smith, commissioner of education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, said:

"With reference to the field of research, I want to point out, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that there is no possibility that this particular field will be entered into effectively by any State. I say that because I have never seen any indication that any State is undertaking that particular work for the State. Even our wealthier States, our States that have the larger State organizations, have not established departments or divisions of research in education. Even if they were to do so, it would be very extravagant for the country as a whole, because the field of research of which I speak is a field of professional research, a field of technical research; and whatever is done, for one State is likewise necessary to have done for another State. We must grant, of course, that there are very marked differences among the States with reference to administrative procedure, with reference to the ways in which they will desire to organize their schools, with reference to the extent to which they will care to carry forward education and support it. Those things are matters entirely to be determined by the several States, and I am very certain always will be so determined. But when you come to the technical practices of the schools, there is not one method of teaching reading that is better for the children of Massachusetts, and another method of teaching reading that is better for the children of Illinois, and still another that is better for teaching that subject in California. The teaching profession has come into that scientific stage where studies are greatly desired in these fields; and it is because I believe that a Federal department of education can so greatly help in these ways that I believe it is a good thing that this department should be established."

Mr. Black of New York, in questioning Dr. C. R. Mann, director of the American Council on Education, asked:

"In case this bill does not become a law, do you think it might be advisable to have a provision to the effect that the money used in the Bureau of Education should be used for the rural school systems of the country?"

"Doctor MANN. It is not necessary, because the things that are the subjects of distinct investigation at the present time are, what are the processes of learning reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, the fundamental things that are specified."

I now quote from the 1925 report of the Commissioner of Education. This is not quoted as a direct indorsement of the bill for a department of education. It is simply to indicate what some of the present educational needs are. The report says:

"Those responsible for schools administration in the United States are in great need of assistance in certain important fields. At the present time (1925) adequate provision is direly needed for study in the fields of curriculum organization, school finance, buildings and construction, teacher training, and secondary education."

President Coolidge, in his recent message (1927), said:

"For many years it has been the policy of the Federal Government to encourage and foster the cause of education. Large sums of money are annually appropriated to carry on vocational training. Many millions go into agricultural schools. The general subject is under the immediate direction of a Commissioner of Education. While this subject is strictly a State and local function, it should continue to have the encouragement of the National Government. I am still of the opinion that much good could be accomplished through the establishment of a department of education and relief, into which would be gathered all of these functions under one directing member of the Cabinet."

OPPONENTS OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In the foregoing quotations I have tried to deal with different aspects of the bill under consideration. I now make quotations from those who are opposed to the bill.

Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, president of Johns Hopkins University, made the following statement:

"The tendency will be stagnation, standardization, the termination of this process of experimentation as it is going on at the present time, because then everything will be uniform. Now, one State has one idea with regard to education; other States have other ideas; and we find out, through a process of experimentation with these various ideas, whether or not we can make advances. But what I fear will come from what, as I see it, will be the result of the passage of this bill is a standardization, a stagnation, which is going to be extremely bad for our educational system. The period of experimentation is apt to cease, and that is what we need and what we always will need, as I see it."

Valmore Gaucher, president of Assumption College, Worcester, Mass., said:

"It would be a first step, and a very important one, toward complete centralization, and thus open the way to socialism, and who can tell, to dictatorship and tyranny. Centralization is like a gear. Once enforced on one point, it will gradually extend to and corrupt all our social organizations. This is the target at which the socialists aim. But this centralization must be fought by every true American with all possible energy because it is utterly unpatriotic."

I am not sure that Senator Borah was present at the hearings; however, he has said:

"The principle once admitted, the agency once established, the Federal power will ultimately direct, guide, dictate, and control the whole educational system, from the mother's knee to the final departure from the campus. Indeed, that was the original conception of the Federal plan. The original plan and arguments contemplated exactly that, to wit, that the National Government should be omnipotent in educational affairs."

Again I quote from Senator Borah:

"The Government depends at last upon the intelligence and character of the average citizen. His constant,

vigilant interest in public matters is indispensable to the success of this great experiment. The idea that the Government should be a universal provider and guarantor against all risks and wants of human existence is at war with our whole theory of government. The theory that there is a wisdom at Washington with reference to purely personal and local concerns superior to the wisdom found at home and in the communities or the States is not the theory upon which our Government was organized."

Harry Pratt Judson, president emeritus of the University of Chicago, said:

"I am strongly opposed to the pending education bill. Education belongs to the States. The Federal Government can be useful, no doubt, by gathering information as to educational procedure and disseminating this information among the States. But this can best be done through a properly supported bureau of the Interior Department. This bureau should be organized on a strictly scientific basis, like the Bureau of Standards. In the last-named bureau there have been but two heads since its organization some quarter of a century since, and the single change was made because the head resigned in order to accept the presidency of an important educational institution. Should the Bureau of Education be converted into a department with its head in the Cabinet there is the certainty of a change with every change of administration. What should be a scientific bureau becomes a political department. I deprecate turning over Federal educational agencies to partisan politics, which is the essence of this bill."

J. Gresham Machen, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., has said:

"I believe that in the sphere of the mind we should have absolutely unlimited competition. There are certain spheres where competition may have to be checked, but not when it comes to the sphere of the mind; and it seems to me that we ought to have this state of affairs; that every State should be faced by the unlimited competition in this sphere of other States; that each one

should try to provide the best for its children that it possibly can; and, above all, that all public education should be kept healthy at every moment by the absolutely free competition of private schools and church schools."

A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, said:

"I am opposed to the creation of a Federal secretary of education, because I believe it would almost inevitably bring education into politics; or, in other words, make the appointment to that office a political one, whereas it seems to me that it is important to keep the educational as well as the scientific work of the Federal Government in the hands of experts. Moreover, I much doubt the wisdom of increasing the power of activity of the Federal Government in questions of education, which depend, I think, very much on sectional conditions. In the third place, action by the Federal Government is almost sure to mean a certain bureaucratic uniformity, whereas it seems to me that we need in this country a wide diversity in educational experimentation, for about education we talk much and know little."

James H. Ryan, representing the National Catholic Educational Association, said:

"There is no reason to appeal to Washington for assistance in school matters as there is no need to appeal in matters of public health, public morality, or police and fire protection. To do so is to hand over to a central bureaucracy control over local matters. A central bureau may do some things better than local agencies.

"In the long run the effects of bureaucracy are uniformly vicious. With the loss of local control goes inevitably loss of interest in local problems. Dependence on Washington will certainly result in a series of so-called national standards of education, national courses of study, national educational methods, national inspection—in a word, in a series of interference with the school which would paralyze local initiative and impose upon the community methods and standards wholly out of harmony with local needs and demands."

In questioning Edward S. Dore, president of the National Catholic Alumni Federation, Senator FERRIS had the following to say:

"But that tendency [to create a stereotyped mentality by standardization] is not peculiar to the State nor to the Nation. I am in very close touch with that set of conditions. Why is the drive that way? Why is it that as soon as a man becomes a secretary of education in the Cabinet he should do these damnable things? What in human nature obsesses him? I have heard so much about what will happen if this bill is enacted that I ask, What is the matter with human nature? You do not wish to say that the other members of the Cabinet have blossomed out into archenemies of the National Government. Why should a secretary of education be so much more likely to go wrong?"

The leading opponents of this bill are not from the army of public-school teachers. This fact is indeed significant.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The opponents of this bill seem to be very much alarmed over the prospect of endangering the cause of education through political influence. It is true that the heads of the different departments are appointed by the President. If we have a Democratic President, of course the appointees for the Cabinet will be Democrats. If we have a Republican President, the appointees will be Republicans.

The only possible basis for prophecy rests on what has happened in years gone by. So far as I am able to learn, the departments have not suffered seriously because of political bias. When a department has suffered it has been because of moral turpitude. To be perfectly frank about the matter, when you get down to "brass tacks," there isn't enough difference between the two great parties to permit any special worry over politics. If there are well-defined differences between the two great parties, they are not generally known to the public. It is difficult

to imagine that a President of the United States, whether Republican or Democrat, would appoint a mere politician to the position of secretary of education. This would indicate that the office of President is losing its old-time importance. We hear the cry, "Keep the schools out of politics." The schools have always been in politics and always will be in politics. Sometimes this works injury to the schools, sometimes benefit. Much depends upon the quality of politics. The great army of teachers are American citizens and have a right to be in politics.

Public opinion is sufficient to ward off every danger that can arise from having the head of a department a Republican or a Democrat. The personnel of the department would not be seriously modified by a change in the secretary of education. There is no more occasion for alarm over the political attitude of a secretary of education than over a Commissioner of Education or a Secretary of Agriculture. It is true that with every administration there would be a change in the secretary of education. This cry of political influence is nothing more nor less than a scarecrow.

STANDARDIZATION

Another objection that is raised by the opponents of this bill is the anticipated malicious influence of the standardization of education. Organization, specialization, and standardization constitute the order of the day. The most serious consequences of standardization in education have been brought about by other than governmental influences.

I am not going to cite concrete instances. The matter of standardization is a matter of emphasis. It is difficult to imagine that educators are to abandon all hope of a science of education. Human nature is essentially the same in Maine, in California, in Minnesota, in Louisiana. It is difficult to imagine that there is one best method of teaching reading, arithmetic, the English language, history, geography, and civics in one State and an entirely different method for teaching these subjects in another

State. If there is a science of education, there is one best method. When this best method is discovered and adopted by the 48 States, then we have efficient standardization. This form of standardization benefits the entire school population of 26,000,000 children. To fight scientific standardization is to fight progress. It is far better for the success of education to carry on research work and find out what methods and what equipment are best for the education of American youth. It is exceedingly difficult to estimate the saving in time and money that follows efficient, scientific methods.

STATE RIGHTS

In present decades there has been a revival of the State-rights doctrine. The individual State seems to be jealous of the functions of the Federal Government.

The opponents of this bill almost invariably declare that the secretary of education would control education in the 48 States. The Departments of Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture have rendered invaluable service to the 48 States, and the element of control has not been a dominating factor. There isn't any more reason for supposing that the secretary of education will exercise control in any other sense than the three departments mentioned above exercise it. The advocates of this bill deplore vicious control as enthusiastically as do the opponents of the bill.

The future progress of the world depends to no small degree upon research, and it is through research that science and invention have made marvelous progress; in fact, more progress in the last 75 years than in all previous centuries.

The opponents of the bill, with but few exceptions, pay tribute to the Bureau of Education. I am not going to take the time to argue the inability of a bureau hidden away in the Department of the Interior to do the great work that is demanded by our educational agencies. The larger part of the evidence has one trend. Many of the opponents say that if necessary funds could be

provided for the Bureau of Education the work of a department of education would be uncalled for. The fact that the bureau never has had adequate funds is sufficient argument to prove that there isn't any immediate prospect of its ever having sufficient funds.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The opponents of the bill are fearful that the independence of private schools will be disturbed by establishing a department of education. I have been engaged in private-school work for half a century. I realize that the testimony of a single representative is of little value. I have observed legislation in several of the States in relation to private schools. I am positive, however, that so far as my own experience in handling a great private secondary school is concerned, the supervision of private schools by the State has been beneficial.

It is impossible for me to see how the Federal Government would fail to conserve the best interests of all private schools whether they are secular or religious. Public opinion points in one direction and that is in permitting all private schools that degree of freedom which is conducive to the welfare of the State and the welfare of the Federal Government.

In the arguments of the opponents of this bill the factor of fear seems to dominate. The dynamics of the opposition is primarily emotional. For some unaccountable reason the opponents of the bill seem to be "scared stiff" over the prospect of giving the Federal Government an opportunity to better the educational opportunities for American youth.

RESEARCH, THE MAINSPRING OF PROGRESS

This applies to our commercial development, to our agricultural advance, and to educational progress. There isn't anything mysterious about research. For example, in industry it means nothing more nor less than "intelligent investigation into how to do practical things; if they are new, how they can be done in the best way; if they

are old, how in a better way. In a word, it is invention. It is the most practical thing in the world."

The United States Chamber of Commerce says that "the amount expended annually by American manufacturers in conducting laboratory research alone is $35,000,000." Unquestionably this figure is well on the conservative side. This same authority places the annual saving to American industry by research at a half a billion dollars.

In the field of medical science we must appeal to the imagination in order to appreciate the tremendous change in the last 50 years. The name of Pasteur is familiar to every physician. He wrought little less than a revolution in the field of scientific research. He was not a physician, but his researches have contributed more to medical science than the researches of any other one man.

In the last 25 years agriculture has undergone a revolution. That does not mean that there isn't a farm problem. It simply means that research is of tremendous value in every form of human activity. It has recently been estimated that the aggregate producing power of persons engaged in agriculture has been increased 25 per cent since 1900. Secretary Jardine says that these changes are attributable chiefly to the results of scientific discovery. Whatever view a Congressman may take of the value of research in education, he must admit that in the lines I have already mentioned it has been of gigantic importance. I hold that the value of research would be even more valuable in education than in the fields already mentioned.

In what I have already said about research, the element of governmental control has not been an important factor. There is no reason that I can discover why educational research should lead to the dire results that the opponents of this bill outline.

The marked weakness of this age lies in the handling of our distinctive human interests. We handle the material things of this world almost as if by magic. The human mind, however, has received comparatively little

consideration. Mental resources have never been adequately explored; mental possibilities are at this hour undiscovered.

If there was no other argument in favor of this bill than the one that I offer with reference to research, there would be sufficient reason for passing it. It is clearly evident to me that as a question of economy it is a thousand times better that this lack of research should be corrected by the Federal Government than by the individual States working separately. It has been quite clearly indicated that the States work at cross purposes, so to speak. It is important that in this field of research there be unification.

After the experience we have had with the Bureau of Education, a magnificent institution, we can see plainly that if education is to have the attention it deserves, it must be through the agency of a department of education. I have been personally acquainted with two of the Commissioners of Education, William T. Harris and Philander Priestly Claxton. No man can pay higher tribute to these two men than I. Very likely I could pay as high a tribute to some of the others if I had had the honor and good fortune of knowing them as I have known these two men. It seems to me that it is a waste of argument to say that if the Bureau of Education had the money, it would be able to do the work that this bill provides for. The Bureau of Education never has had the money and it is reasonable to say that it will never get the necessary funds.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the order made yesterday, the exercises of the day having been concluded, the Senate will stand in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

The Senate thereupon (at 4 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.), pursuant to the order previously entered, took a recess until to-morrow, Monday, May 7, 1928, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House of Representatives

FRIDAY, *March 23, 1928.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That a committee of ten Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. MCLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, a Senator of the United States from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of eighteen Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following committee: Messrs. McLaughlin, Cramton, Mapes, James, Michener, Woodruff, Ketcham, McLeod, Hudson, Vincent of Michigan, Hooper, Clancy, Bohn, Rainey, Hill of Washington, Reed of Arkansas, Green of Florida, and Whitehead.

The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), in pursuance of the resolution, the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, March 24, 1928, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *May 7, 1928.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to his memory the Senate, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand in recess.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

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